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Turn — "Secession" — Self-dependence Creating a New Political Scene of Tychy and Łódziny A Case Study

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Introductory Remarks

Real socialism left in Upper Silesia not only ecological devastation, backward economy and obsolete social structure, but also limited the possibilities of building new elites, which would replace the all-powerful party, state and economic bureaucracy. After the election of the 4th June 1989, when nomenclature left the regional scene (or rather — after it began to leave the scene) it appeared that there were no fully shaped counter-elites and Upper Silesia was a **political desert**. The reasons for such a situation were not only the same as in other parts of Poland (Jałowiecki, 1991) but it was also an entanglement of specific conditions resulting from the location of the voivodship in the whole social, political and economic system of the country, created by internal regional dynamics.¹

In this study we are going to describe the processes of reclaiming this desert on the local level. It is a result of many years' observation of the local political scene of the Katowice voivodship. The author conducted research in groups which prepared monographs of two towns situated near Katowice what led to sociological reflection on the creation of a new system of local authorities in the region. Thus, it is only a study of two cases and does not

¹ We write more about it in Błasiak, Nawrocki, Szczepański, 1994.

pretend to explain the mechanisms of creating a new political scene of whole local Poland.

In our analysis we referred to “dramaturgical” sociology (Goffman, 1981). This approach is associated with the sociology of everyday life. Used in the political studies, it concentrates on the routine and situational political behaviour of individual people and larger local communities, and on some rhythms and cycles in the functioning of power structures. It also exposes creativeness of an individual in the political processes of different scale and significance, especially during the local events, elections and referenda. Dramaturgical approach used in the analyses conducted within political sociology refers to some important elements. First, it is the “local political scene” and its social surroundings, which can be called — using terms from the lexicon of dramaturgical orientation — the “proscenium”. Various collective and institutional actors such as political parties and their formal leaders play their roles in the political scene. In this political spectacle function also “extra-institutional actors” like a local political lobby, informal party leaders, local and informal political authorities. Even on a local, and to some extent provincial, political scene we can notice “leading and supporting actors”. The latter, despite playing bit parts, may fulfil, through non-formal agreements, important political functions on the local stage and the proscenium. Actors also use different props such as symbols, sign boards, slogans, programs and refer to various imponderables. Like in a real theatre, some of them are professionals, others behave like amateurs. The whole spectacle is controlled by “directors” (local leaders) and “operating specialists” (e.g. officials, experts).

Tychy — a New Socialist City. Łędziny — an Old Silesian Town

The character of both towns had some influence on the process of creating the local political scene. Tychy, from the moment it got its civic rights (1950) to the 1980s, was supposed to be a model new socialist city. What was created was not a traditional city but a “loose »federation« of urban blocks, settlements, housing estates and quarters situated within the artificially delineated city borders and controlled by common administrative authorities” (Nawrocki, Szczepański, 1994, p. 115). Moreover, before April 1991, Tychy consisted not only of new urban blocks, built after 1950 and inhabited mainly by people coming to a new city and employed in big local factories, but also of old Silesian local communities, which had their

distinct identity, neighbouring villages and little towns of several hundred years' tradition and a strong feeling of separateness, arbitrarily incorporated into Tychy in the 1970s (Szczepański, 1991; Nawrocki, Szczepański, 1994). Towards the end of the 1980s, these small villages and towns managed to separate from the city what resulted in the creation of 5 independent communities (2nd April 1991). This shape of the city did not fully integrate the urban community of Tychy and was a ballast with which a new socialist city (with its 189,874 inhabitants in 1989 and 133,646 inhabitants in 1996) was to start its system transformation.

Łędziny was one of the towns which was successfully separated from Tychy. It is an old Silesian town, already mentioned in Długosz's *Chronicles* in 1150—1170. In the beginning it was only a farming settlement, later — at the end of the 19th century — a community connected with coal mining. Nowadays, there is a coal-mine "Ziemowit", one of the oldest in Europe. In 1856 Łędziny became an independent administrative unit (separate community) and in 1966 — a town which in 1975 was incorporated into Tychy without its inhabitants' permission. However, on 2nd April 1991 Łędziny again claimed its independence (Leszczyk, 1994). Today, this town is inhabited by 17,748 people (1996) and consists of "real" Łędziny, inhabited mainly by Silesians, a few incorporated old Silesian villages and Hołdunów, which was developed around the mine after the war and is mainly inhabited by people who came there to find a job.

The Tychy Political Scene after 1989

April, 14th, 1989, when the Local Committee of "Solidarity" was formed, was a turning point in the creation of a new political scene in Tychy. It was an official organisation which offered its *audience* (city inhabitants) a new definition of the social situation. Its members and its activity shaped a new local scene.

The Local Citizens' Committee (LKO) consisted of "Solidarity" members and people from the local section of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia (KIK). The position of Goffman's "director" (Goffman, 1981, p. 146), who assigns the roles and calls the actors to order, was held by a former (1980—1981) member of the Union's State Commission.

The Committee (and the Tychy Citizens' Committee — TKO, founded after the Parliamentary election) based its activity on these two circles; this not only outlined its future position but also greatly influenced the choice of municipal authorities. On the one hand, the Citizens' Committee consisted

of a group of Tychy intelligentsia connected with the Church and functioning in the Tychy section of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia. They had a certainly negative attitude towards the then reality, but only in a few cases got involved in *stricte* underground activity.² On the other hand, however, the Committee united people (mostly farmers) who, after December 13th 1981, were engaged in the underground activity.

The potential of these two groups was quite different. The Tychy conspiracy comprised loosely structuralised groups of workmen employed in big factories. Their composition and mutual relationships were unsettled and altered according to the situation. The Union leaders of 1980–1981 did not come to the underground and their authority could change “Solidarity” into a union which would act openly. Moreover, a few members withdrew from the Union due to the difference of opinions about The Round Table and the Parliamentary election. Other members wanted to concentrate only on the Union activity and to reorganise “Solidarity” and after the Parliamentary election retired from their activity at city level. Others were simply tired and were not interested in the active participation in politics, or thought that they were not properly prepared to work for the Committee and to function in Tychy political life. Their resignation was not made up for by new, less active members of the Union. The more so as the withdrawal (and later death) of its leader weakened this public movement. What is more, one of his closest associates got engaged in the all-country activity.

In this situation, the leading roles in the Committee were played by people connected with the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia. This tendency prevailed after “Solidarity” had won the Parliamentary elections and began preparations for the municipal elections. While co-opting new members, they paid greater attention to their education and profession. At the same time, their political attitudes were taken into consideration in order to co-opt people who were not involved in “the past”. What, as one of the interlocutors said, was not at all easy. Thus, in the Tychy Citizens’ Committee appeared people who had never been connected either with the underground activity or with the previous authorities. No wonder that one of the leading activists of the Tychy conspiracy recalled after many years that “KIK members dominated KO. This results from the fact that perhaps there were better-educated, more intelligent and forceful people. We were tired. We did not want, we did not push. I always thought that I was good at some technical work and despite various offers I thought there should be more professionals than politicizers”.³

² In the 1980s, this group organised lectures, meetings, the Days of Christian Culture, which were attended by the opposition, and helped repressed people (financially, legally, socially, etc.).

³ Author’s interview with one of the activists of Tychy underground.

After the Seym elections and transforming the Local Citizens' Committee into the Tychy Citizens' Committee, they began preparations for the municipal elections in order to take over the authority in the city. With the assistance of a group of "operating specialists", connected with TKO (Goffman, 1981, p. 209) they prepared the "Report on the State of the City". At the same time they were looking for people who would form the Community Council and be responsible for the city administration. However, the wait-and-see attitude of most inhabitants (especially those associated with the previous intelligentsia circles) caused that the Committee without its broad base had great difficulty in choosing the candidates who would meet both professional and political requirements. They even tried to form a voting bloc together with other independent organisations but it did not help. They could not replace complex political structures with all their personal potential. They still needed the right people and the commission that selected candidates had serious problems with closing the lists of councillors. We must not neglect the close integration of the city inhabitants what, apart from other factors, greatly hampered the pre-election social mobilisation and limited the co-optation mechanisms of TKO.

One of the persons from this selection commission characterised this situation as follows: "Black despair! We all were afraid. There was no other way out. We had to take people from the streets so that they would run for the Council and meet the requirements tolerably well. (...) We tried to form a bloc and win. (...) It was a mistake, although at this stage there was no other possibility. The Council was elected in consideration of political views. (...) For 45 seats we had only 20 suitable candidates and we had to look for the rest".⁴

This statement (confirmed also in other relations) shows clearly that during the political fight for local power (with the wait-and-see attitude of most inhabitants) the choice of actors for the Tychy political scene was not always determined by professional factors but by appropriate political views of candidates and sometimes by chance. What is more, sometimes the same factors decided who would fill important positions in the local administration (somebody knew somebody and said he had the right qualifications and political views).

This is how they created a new elite that took over the authority in the city after winning the local election. On May 27th 1990, 61% of voters supported the Citizens' Committee of "Solidarity". The representatives of this Committee got 34 seats in Parliament. Apart from that, the Łędziny Citizens' Committee

⁴ Fragment of the interview with one of the leaders of Tychy underground, and later a co-ordinator of the Citizens' Committee (author's own typescript).

got 3 seats, the Tychy "Green Party" — 2, and independent candidates — 6 (mainly candidates who were connected with the previous political authority).

Having won the elections, the Committee could independently form municipal authorities. The Citizens' Committee leaders and people supported by them took up all key positions in the council, the municipal government and local administration. The Tychy Citizens' Committee had a complete success and could create new power elites.

The Tychy Citizens' Committee did not repeat this success during the by-election to the Municipal Council which took place a year later (after 5 communities had separated from Tychy). In 1991 the political situation was quite different. The Solidarity movement in Poland divided and already in September 1990 there were created local circles of all-Polish political parties (ROAD — the Citizens' Movement for Democratic Action and the Centre Agreement). The Committee was a forum of disputes among their representatives and it slowly reduced its activities. Most of its leaders either joined local organisations and administration or concentrated on the Union activities. The Committee terminated its activity due to a deep political division and inability to cope with a new situation.

This was also a result of a serious defeat in the mentioned above by-election. Out of 15 seats (and attendance of only 4,9%) the Tychy Citizens' Committee got only 2, while the coalition of the Centre Agreement and "Solidarity" — 5 seats, KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland) — 4, the Polish Green Party — 2, and parish communities from Czułów and Urbanowice — 1 each. This election changed the character of the Council. There appeared new councillors connected with definite political parties. What is more, these parties represented distinct political views and had a firm group of supporters (what was very important in the situation of such low attendance). Thus, the Tychy political scene stopped being a monolith and there appeared "groups of actors" (political groups).

The Council had more new members — other representatives of the parish communities. This fact proves how active and aware of their own interests the old communities now being parts of the city were. The distinctive character of these communities was formed long before the creation of a new "socialist city".

Part of the hurriedly created political scene of the city broke down after the by-election. Without analysing all the underlying reasons for this situation, we can say that it was greatly influenced by the way of recruiting local power elites.

The later created relationships with the Council, local government and the president (elected during the competition) lasted, after slight modifications, until local elections in 1994. Local and administrative elites were being

gradually crystallized and they filled due part of this scene. Among "actors-amateurs" there appeared a group of "actors-professionals".

However, a group of people from local authorities did not sufficiently structuralised the Tychy political scene. They did not have a strong institutional and social base. What is more, they were surrounded by a political desert because political parties in Tychy were not fully formed. Before the elections of 1994, only the Centre Agreement, The Green Party as a local phenomenon and partly the Confederation of Independent Poland were slightly interested in the city problems and had more or less clear vision of its future. Big parties such as SDRP (Social-Democracy of Poland) and UW (The Union of Freedom) had their circles in Tychy but were not particularly active and only organised further election campaigns. Together with other political groups, they dramatised ("illuminated" less visible elements of their activity) and "idealised" (created an ideal picture) thus filling the local political scene with "façade" creations. These groups had more or less attractive offices, statutory authorities who appealed to the "audience" (inhabitants) before the elections but this "spectacle" changed very little in the city (G o f f m a n, 1981). Apart from these groups there were efficient local circles of two regional social movements. However, neither the Upper Silesian Union, which promoted Silesian culture, nor more than 2 thousand members of DFK (organisation of German minority) had any political ambitions.

This inefficient structure of the political scene in Tychy influenced the results of the local elections in 1994. 45 seats in the new Municipal Council were divided among 11 election committees. SLD got the most seats — 12 (18,5%). The Coalition of the Tychy Right got 9 seats (15,1%) and the third was a group of local government activists, the coalition of UW and KIS (the Club of Local Initiative) — 8 seats (12,6%). The committee "Razem Tyszanie" ("Together the Inhabitants of Tychy") which comprises local activists and people from city authorities got only 5 seats (only 3 promille less than UW—KIS). Some parties got fewer seats than in the previous elections (KPN — 3, the Green Party — 1).

These results, however, do not prove that the political parties in Tychy are strong. The detailed analysis shows that people voted not for political groups deeply rooted in the local community but for all-Polish parties or for candidates well-known in the city.⁵ None of 8 seats won by the coalition UW and KIS was given to the Union which had a numerous representation in Tychy. They were all appointed to a group of people well-known in the local community.⁶

⁵ e.g. the choice of a well-known economist from the list of the Left, or the choice of ZChN (Christian-National Union) activist from the Right list, who is popular in the city because of many functions that he performed in his party.

⁶ First of all, they elected a few local activists of the previous term of office.

A new Council represents also the previous local and administrative elites of Tychy. Not having a solid institutional base, they had to join another party taking part in the election or form their own election bloc (Nawrocki, Szczepański, 1994, p. 114). They used both possibilities and before the election a group of people from the Tychy Citizens' Committee established another committee called "Razem Tyszanie".⁷ Those who did not believe that one bloc of local elites could win the election formed an ephemeral coalition with UW (during the "behind the scenes" meeting in a local gallery). This guaranteed the main representatives of the Council success in the next election.

Small committees which had common interests or were connected with some local personality took advantage of these weak political parties in Tychy. Committees like: "Oświata" ("Education") — 1 seat, "Spółdzielczy Blok Wyborczy" ("Co-operative Election Bloc") — 2, "Tychy Teraz" ("Tychy Now") — 1, "Wspólnota na Rzecz Rozwoju Osiedli Obrzeźnych"⁸ ("The Union for the Development of Borderland Districts") — 2, "Grupa Starotyska" ("Old Tychy Group") — 1 got 7 seats altogether and were supported by 20,9% of voters. They achieved the greatest success in Old Tychy districts where the inhabitants know each other very well and are characterised by distinct awareness of their interests.⁹ Local committees got there 3 (out of 6) seats — 40,2% of all votes. Political parties, however, won mostly in new, highly disintegrated settlements.

The election led to a new power arrangement. The Left, "Razem Tyszanie" and UW—KIS appointed 3 seats in the local government and the Municipal Council and nominated their own candidate for the president. In this way, despite many program differences, the post-Solidarity group appealed to loyalty and dramaturgical discipline and was able to remain in power (Goffman, 1981, pp. 277—281). Thus was concluded the next stage of creating a local political scene in Tychy.

Political Scene in Łędziny

The inhabitants of Łędziny and the neighbouring towns have never approved of incorporating their community into Tychy. Therefore during the Sejm election campaign in 1989 there arose a problem of their "secession"

⁷ Its leaders were: chairwoman of the Municipal Council and vice-president of Tychy.

⁸ From this list was elected one of the best Polish hockey players.

⁹ The existence of such communities within big cities was considered during the discussion over the classical concept of L. Wirth (Morris, 1968, pp. 162—163).

from the territory of Tychy. In Łędziny, Holdunów, Górki and Gocławiec the main supporters of this idea were councillors and activists from the District Committees of Inhabitants' Self-Government, activated in the late 1980s. The Municipal National Council also attempted to separate 5 new administrative units, inspired by the councillors from Tychy local communities.

The proposal for dividing the town and creating 2 new municipal communities (e.g. Łędziny) and 3 village communities led to a public discussion between its supporters and opponents. The arguments for secession were the following: public disapproval of the decision of 1976, lack of important spatial and functional bonds with Tychy, rural or small-town character of these communities (Szczepański, 1991). Moreover, these towns were inhabited by highly integrated native population and for them secession was a good chance to "demonstrate Silesian economy, resourcefulness, honesty, diligence, and to show their identity and the sources of social identification" (Szczepański, 1991). These new administrative units paid much attention to the fact that the Sejm introduced the Act of Self-Governments and the "philosophy" of financing the communities.

After heated disputes already the "old" Council arrived at an almost unanimous decision to divide the town and to restore territorial and administrative independence of 5 communities (January 1990). Later this decision was given a positive opinion by voivodship authorities. And although local leaders and inhabitants of these "rebellious" towns, together with some members of Parliament, were deeply involved in this project (in Łędziny, for example, in autumn 1989, in 3 days they collected over 4,5 thousand signatures in support of "secession"), they failed to meet all formal requirements connected with the preparation of the motion and it had to be transferred to a later date. B. Jałowiecki suggests also that "postponing" the matter by the Bureau of the Cabinet resulted also from the fear that before the next local elections there would appear similar motions in other parts of the country (Jałowiecki, 1990, p. 44). This was the main problem of the campaign before the local elections in spring 1990.

In late winter 1990, the inhabitants of Łędziny established the Łędziny Citizens' Committee (LKO). The initiative was taken by people who earlier did not participate in public life or were associated with the committees realising only local projects. Later, the Committee attracted more people from the previous authorities. While the Tychy Committee wanted post-Solidarity groups to gain power, the Committee in Łędziny was only interested in an idea of independence. That is why they did not affiliate their Committee to the post-Solidarity Committee in Tychy. Candidates of LKO for the Municipal

Council in Tychy, chosen at the inhabitants' meetings, also were not accepted by the Committee in Tychy. Two of them, not without reason, were discredited for their activity in the communist system.¹⁰

Conflicts between the committees led to the situation in which TKO denied LKO the right to use the name "Solidarity" and, during the local pre-election, appointed its own candidates for local elections in 1990.

In this election, 3 seats (60,5%) were won by the Łędziny Citizens' Committee, which supported an idea of separating Łędziny from Tychy. Candidates connected with the "Solidarity" Committee in Tychy got much less support (26,3%, 2 seats). This result was quite meaningful in the situation when in other parts of Tychy candidates from the "Solidarity" bloc achieved complete success.

The local elections quickly solved the problem of division, supported by the inhabitants of Łędziny and other towns. The leaders of LKO, who were most insistent in this matter, had the estimate of the income and expenditure of the future community. It appeared that Łędziny (with its great taxpayer — a mine) would be one of the richest communities in the voivodship.¹¹

These efforts resulted in great success on 22nd December 1990 when Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki signed the document about the division of Tychy and the creation (2nd April 1991) of 5 new administrative units (together with the municipal community of Łędziny). From 22nd December 1990 to 2nd April 1991 they were involved in preparations for the new community. The whole spectacle was directed by two LKO leaders who formed a municipal office, choosing officials ("operating specialists"), preparing the first budget project and appointing candidates for councillors.

Formally, the municipal community of Łędziny separated from Tychy on 2nd April 1991. A month later, in May, the first municipal authorities were appointed from among the leaders of LKO. The power was divided between the two "directors". The leader of LKO became the President of the Municipal Council, and a former vice-President of the Council in Tychy (before 1990) — a mayor. New authorities had to organise community institutions, solve the current problems of the town and make up for many years' neglect of the urban infrastructure. During the next several months they organised all major municipal institutions, began to integrate the local community, prepared

¹⁰ One of them was a manager of one of the biggest Polish power plants (a later member of Parliament and a minister of industry of the post-communist coalition). The other, at the end of the communist administration, was a vice-chairman of the Municipal National Council in Tychy.

¹¹ This problem was also observed in Murcki, an old district of Katowice with very strong feeling of its individual character. In Murcki, they gave up an idea of separation when it occurred that the income of the future community would not be sufficient.

a plan of the town development and successfully reformed the economic policy (Łędziny was one of the most rapidly developing communities in the Katowice voivodship).

The local election changed the situation of LKO. Virtually, the Committee fulfilled its duty — Łędziny won its independence and had its new authorities. Without its leaders, the majority of whom became members of the administrative authorities or local government, the Committee was slowly dying away. There was no organisation in Łędziny that could replace LKO. The only organisations — PSL (Polish Peasants' Party), circles of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, the Movement for Autonomy of Silesia and the German minority — gained no sufficient support of the inhabitants and their activity had only a "façade" character. The Society of the District of Łędziny gained a slightly bigger support (according to the results of the local election). This Society was established in order to keep up local traditions but it took on a role of the opposition when the inhabitants had no other organisation to express their negative attitude towards the local authorities.

The local authorities (which originated from LKO) achieved a visible success during their first term of office (1992—1994). Despite this, the end of this term coincided with an attempt to dismiss a mayor who was one of the main leaders of the local political scene. Many actors were discouraged by his authoritarian attitude but, above all, it was an element of supra-local game because the mayor cooperated with the leading candidate for the post of a Katowice voivod.

The mayor and the chairman of the Municipal Council were greatly appreciated by voters in the local election of 1994. They both won in their constituencies. However, 10 councillors of the previous term of office lost (out of 15 candidates). 91 people candidated for 24 seats and most of them had no organisational base. Candidates nominated by PSL and more or less ephemeral organisations did not get enough support. Only a representative of the Polish Angling Union entered the Council. In the new Council there were many accidental councillors without any organisational support (excluding a group of councillors connected with a local mine — mining lobby) or authority in the community (to get a seat one needed only a few votes). There was no organisation which, like LKO, would take care of the selection and election campaign. Weak local Council was a result of a weak local political scene.¹²

The Council changed the municipal authorities. The chairman of the Council kept his position¹³ but an authoritarian mayor was dismissed

¹² Experts had a similar opinion about the Council of the 2nd term of office in Tychy.

¹³ He had to resign later due to health problems. This position was appointed to one of his co-workers.

by his opponents in spite of many successes and strong support of the inhabitants. He was also opposed by a mining lobby which was discouraged by some of his decisions¹⁴ and his former ally — the chairman of the Council. At the end of the previous term of office they had different views on how quickly the community should develop. A new mayor was a person from outside the local power elite and without any experience in performing this function. Using Goffman's metaphor, we can say that in this leading role on the Łędziny political scene a professional actor was replaced by an amateur, a debutant surrounded by a team and present on the local or mining scene only for a few years.

The first decisions made by new local authorities were not approved by the inhabitants. They were fiercely criticised by a group of activists from the Society of the District of Łędziny. In 1997 they even tried to dissolve the Council. Some attempts to idealise the activities of the Council also failed.¹⁵ The inhabitants were increasingly dissatisfied with the local authorities who hampered the town development, did not solve many important problems, enabled local leaders to buy land and limited the financial support for the football club which Łędziny was very proud of. There was no organisation which would express spontaneous dissatisfaction of the inhabitants and put pressure on the authorities. Thus, in order to create such a body they established the Committee of Self-Defence of the Łędziny Inhabitants. A former mayor was a back-stage "director" of this spectacle. However, the undertaken steps did not lead to satisfactory results. Nor did the support of the previous minister of industry (earlier, one of the LKO leaders). That is why this configuration may continue only till the local election in 1998.

Instead of Conclusion

The turn of the 1990s began the process of creating a new political scene of local Poland. Like the whole country, two Silesian towns witnessed the process of primary mobilisation of their inhabitants. In Tychy, this process helped introduce an idea of self-government (Seiler, Wódz J., Wódz K., 1997, p. 24) and take over the authority. Then, the Łędziny community had a chance to regain their independence. In both towns these aims have been achieved. This demobilised both communities and reduced the speed of creating the

¹⁴ He consistently collected money which the mine had to pay to the community.

¹⁵ The idealised picture of the activities undertaken by local authorities was published in a local newspaper financed by these authorities.

local political scene in which many leading and supporting roles are still played by amateurs. This spectacle was not directed by professionals. In Tychy to a lesser degree because there appeared foundations of professional local elites and the work of amateurs is corrected by professionals. In Łędziny, however, there appeared "people from nowhere" (Nawrocki, Szczepański, 1994) and groups of actors who represent the interests of the biggest industrial plant. Łędziny, which is much smaller than Tychy, could not create the mechanisms to control local power elites.

This function could be fulfilled by local organisations, societies and circles of political parties. These, however, both in Tychy and Łędziny have rather a façade character.¹⁶ Thus, these two towns still lack the foundation of a truly democratic communities which is — as A. de Tocqueville wrote — "a well-developed system of local organisations which lets the inhabitants co-ordinate and defend their interests" (Tocqueville, 1976).

After the changes which occurred in 1989, there appeared local communities and the inhabitants were given freedom of association. 10 years passed and the local political scene is still being created. The local election in 1998 will set its new stage.

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¹⁶ According to the European Institute of Regional and Local Research, this situation is typical of other parts of Poland (Hryniewicz, Jałowiecki, 1997).

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